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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1368

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INTERNATIONAL

POLISH ECONOMIST INTERVIEWED ON U.S. 'ANTI-POLISH' POLICY

PM131051 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 83 p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Orlik interview with Andrzej Lawrowski, director of the Polish Institute for the Study of the Contemporary Problems of Capitalism: "By Threats and Sanctions"--first graf is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] By threats and sanctions Washington is trying to prevent the normalization of the situation in Poland. In a talk with Yu. Orlik, our own correspondent in Poland, Andrzej Lawrowski, director of the Polish Institute for the Study of Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, describes how this looks in practice.

[Question] The gradual stabilization of the situation in Poland and the Polish Sejm decision to suspend martial law from the end of 1982 have caused dissatisfaction and irritation in the U.S. Administration. Washington has issued a whole series of statements, resolutions and proclamations, aggressive in content and shameless in tone....

[Answer] The hostile attacks on Poland and the unconcealed displeasure over the changes taking place in the country have indeed become intensified recently. After U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger's well-known abusive attacks against the Polish leadership, the U.S. Congress made its contribution to stoking the anti-Polish campaign. In examining the President's message on the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference (of the message's 82 pages, almost one-third are devoted to Poland), the U.S. Congressmen were unstinting in their comments addressed to Poland. Washington was distressed at the decline of the influence of the forces of counterrevolution within the country and tried to support them. R. Reagan himself joined the chorus of mourners, signing a proclamation on the holding of a so-called day of solidarity with the Polish people and of prayer for Poland. Considering it unnecessary to wait for the Sejm session, he denounced in advance the forthcoming decisions of the organ of supreme constitutional power in Poland. All these events occurred in the course of one month--December. Indeed, not a day passed in December without some representative of the U.S. Administration making new demands on the Polish Government, dictating terms, giving lessons, and issuing threats. What is this if not the most flagrant flouting of the norms of international relations accepted in the civilized world and public defamation of a sovereign state and its people's dignity!

Here too I should like to draw attention to one particular natural law. While events were developing in Poland in 1981 in accordance with the U.S. imperialist circles' plans, in other words while anarchy continued to undermine the economy and to destroy Polish statehood, while the activity of the counter-revolutionary groupings of extremists from the former "solidarity" promised to dismantle socialism in our country, the U.S. Administration was hypocritically calling for "noninterference" in Poland's internal affairs, which did not prevent it from giving material and moral support to the political adventurers. But when the transatlantic strategists' hopes of undermining socialism in Poland--even at the price of a fratricidal conflict and civil war--collapsed, Washington rapidly changed its tune and began to interfere overtly and shamelessly in the sovereign state's sovereign affairs. That is what explains the U.S. Administration's irritation and nervousness, its frenzied attempts to "punish the disobedient" for the fact that the development of events in Poland has not proceeded in accordance with the U.S. scenario. How much money was invested, how much effort was expended to ensure that "the Polish kettle came to the boil." But the political dividends have proved pathetic. They did not succeed in pushing Poland from the path of socialist development of wresting it from the socialist community. Nor did the political pressure, economic sanctions and propaganda aggression work to the extent on which they had counted. For the umpteenth time socialism proved its viability.

[Question] To what extent, in your opinion, did the economic blockade or the orgy of subversive propaganda around Poland complicate and continue to complicate the process of the country's emergence from the crisis?

[Answer] The whole range of anti-Polish sanctions was designed to serve to ensure that our economy disintegrated and the state lost any opportunity to resist anarchy. This was deliberately pushing the country into the abyss of national catastrophe. Even the fierce anticommunist Z. Brzezinski was obliged to acknowledge that with respect to Poland the Reagan Administration was pursuing a policy based on the principle "the worse things are the better." That is, the worse for Poland, the better for the United States.

It is notable that as of August 1980 Poland became the focus of attention of the Western special services. The "events" in Poland were prepared surreptitiously. I shall touch on just one aspect of this preparation. In the seventies the capitalist West was unusually generous in its credits to Poland. Money was doled out and the country gradually became enslaved by debts. They were counting on forcing our country to its knees by this method. But they miscalculated. Displaying genuine international solidarity, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries came to Poland's aid. The Washington administration countered their support with sanctions.

You can frequently read in the Western press that the sanctions are aimed against the "regime," against the Polish Government. These arguments are worthless. For instance, what was the President's first reaction to the Polish State Council's 13 December 1981 decision? The statement that as of that date the United States would cease its food deliveries to Poland. Against whom was this measure directed? Against the government? Who could

believe such demagoguery! It was imply a case of "punishing" the country by hunger, causing dissatisfaction among the people and provoking riots.

The United States stopped supplying us with corn, which dealt a palpable blow to poultry raising (poultry meat production has fallen off by two-thirds) and ceased to supply the components necessary for the production of medicines, as a result of which one of the largest pharmaceutical factories, in Tarchomin, virtually came to a standstill. It illegally restricted the operation of the fishing treaty, forcing Poland out of regions abounding in fish, and this had an immediate impact on our store shelves. This list could be endlessly continued.

[Question] Alongside the economic sanctions there was a large-scale propaganda campaign against Poland....

[Answer] And they were unstinting in money for it. The U.S. President himself set an example by organizing in late 1981 an anti-Polish show--as expensive as it was tasteless and shameful even in the estimation of some Western politicians. In late 1982 the President tried to repeat the show. But if the first show failed to bring glory to the producer and actors, the recent one brought them even less. VOA, DEUTSCHE WELLE and FRANCE INTERNATIONALE, joined in the anti-Polish propaganda orgy. RADIO FREE EUROPE was particularly zealous. Subsidized by U.S. Congress and guided by the U.S. Special Services, this radio station has essentially become the main center coordinating subversive activity against Poland. There was perhaps not a statement or speech by any figure of the counterrevolutionary underground or a remark in an illegal newspaper or bulletin which was not immediately taken up and "wired for sound" by the specialists in Polish affairs from Munich. They specified the venues for provocative assemblies and the route of demonstrations, prompted slogans, acted as mentors and instructors. Impudent lies, slanderous rumors and blatant misinformation were put into play in accordance with the laws of "psychological warfare" in which all means are good provided they inflame the situation in and around Poland. The Polish leadership's resolute measures to eliminate the threat to socialism in the country were declared to be "the result of Moscow's interference and pressure." The broadcasts by RADIO FREE EUROPE and other bourgeois media frequently came out with the provocative story of "Russian soldiers in Polish uniform."

The acme of political cynicism came when the situation in Poland in 1982 was equated with the tragic times of the Hitlerite occupation. This was not done for verbal effect: it was actually a "line of conduct"--resistance--that was being suggested here. There was talk of "passive resistance" and "active resistance" prepared, all the way to overt terrorism. It is sufficient here to recall the expatiations of J. Kuron, the ringleader of the antisocialist KSS-KOB grouping (his trial is awaited) and his appeal to the youth in which he openly urged them to combat the "Polish occupying authorities...." Or the practical embodiment of terrorist appeals like the seizure of the Polish Embassy in Berne. And the street demonstrations, termed "peaceful" but which by no accident, in full accordance with the subversive stage management, became real pogroms, aimed at provoking bloodshed.

It would be wrong to suppose that the ignominious failures have taught the organizers of the anti-Polish campaigns anything. They have not ceased their support for the political adventurers within the country or their subversive activity. Their aim is to prevent the stabilization of the situation by every possible means. Each of the authorities' measures aimed at normalizing public life, improving the operation of the economy and consolidating law and order meets with a hostile reception from them. RADIO FREE EUROPE saw "a means of settling accounts with the opposition" even in a Sejm decision, seemingly far removed from politics, connected with measures against those who refuse to work.

Anyone familiar with the recent history knows that the present anticommunist campaign declared by the U.S. President against the socialist countries is not the first one. The White House declares them periodically. And they usually coincide with serious crises within the United States itself. That is what happened this time too. The U.S. economy, U.S. specialists themselves admit, is now experiencing its most serious recession since the crisis of the late twenties and early thirties. So imperialism has resorted to its long-favored method: it is trying to shift the blame for the difficulties it is experiencing onto the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. For this it is reviving the myth of the "Soviet threat" and fueling militarist psychosis and anti-Soviet hysteria. It is in this key that we should view the anti-Polish campaign.

It is well known how the "crusades" against communism have ended in the past. I think that the same ignominious end awaits the present crusade--Reagan's crusade.

As for Poland's position, it was well described by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the ceremonial session in Moscow devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation: "Poland has now found itself on the frontline of the global front of the class struggle. The United States is harming Poland wherever and however it can.... But nothing will come of it. People's Poland will not yield to outside pressure. It will not be a card in someone else's cynical game. Despite many obstacles, we are marching and will continue to march forward."

CSO: 1807/101

INTERNATIONAL

'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA' ON WARSAW PACT SUMMIT MEETING IN PRAGUE

PM191301 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 83 second edition p 1

[Editorial: "In the Interests of all Peoples"]

[Text] The world is living through troubled times. As a result of the further activation of imperialism's aggressive forces the development of events is assuming an increasingly dangerous nature. International tension is growing. The threat of war, above all nuclear war, is intensifying.

Is there a real alternative to nuclear catastrophe? Does the practical possibility of halting the dangerous development of world events, channeling them in a healthy direction, strengthening mutual trust, resolving one after another the tasks of limiting and reducing arsenals of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, improving the political climate on earth and strengthening the peoples' security exist? Yes, it does, the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries declare most resolutely. They are placing all their international authority and their political, economic and defense potential in the pan of the scales of peace.

The community of socialist states, the report "Sixty Years of the USSR" by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, plays a tremendous, beneficial role in the modern world. They jointly defend socialist gains and values against imperialism's onslaught and jointly struggle to strengthen peace and the relaxation of tension. This was once again confirmed most convincingly by the conference of the Warsaw Pact states' political consultative committee held in Prague 4-5 January.

The highest representatives of the allied socialist states jointly examined the situation in Europe and exchanged opinions on certain other international questions. They defined the fraternal countries' further concerted actions in the struggle against the threat of war and for the preservation and deepening of detente and the development of international cooperation.

The USSR and the allied socialist states counter imperialism's militarist line with a consistently constructive policy of peace, international security and detente. In the political declaration unanimously adopted at the Prague conference the Warsaw Pact states put forward a real alternative to sliding toward nuclear catastrophe. This document gives a new boost to resolving

complex international problems in the name of strengthening peace and the peoples' security and continuing the process of easing tension.

Under conditions when imperialist circles, above all in the United States, are pursuing a policy of force, pressure, diktat, interference in internal affairs and infringement of states' national independence and sovereignty and are seeking to consolidate and recast "spheres of influence," the determination of the socialist countries and of all progressive and peace-loving forces to end the policy of confrontation is assuming special significance. Calling for broad international cooperation in the name of preserving civilization and life on earth, the states represented at the political consultative committee conference emphasized that the task of curbing the arms race and proceeding to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, occupies the central place in the struggle to avert war. It is the duty of all governments and all statesmen who determine their countries' policies to resolve this task, the political declaration adopted in Prague points out. This appeal expresses the fundamental vital interests of all the world's peoples.

Special significance attaches to the socialist countries' new proposal advanced in Prague to conclude a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the member states of the two military-political groupings--the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This major peace initiative opens up the practical possibility of resolving very serious international problems in accordance with the aspirations of all mankind.

The results of the Warsaw Pact states' political consultative committee conference held in Prague and the political declaration adopted there have met with the warm approval of all the Soviet Union's working people and servicemen of the Soviet armed forces. They received with profound satisfaction the report that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers, having examined the results of the political consultative committee conference, wholly and fully approve the activity of the Soviet delegation headed by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet Union, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers resolution states, is doing everything in its power to see that reason triumphs in international affairs. It will continue to consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence with states with a different social system, maintaining vigilance toward the intrigues of the enemies of socialism and peace and taking the necessary measures to ensure the country's security.

The results of the Prague conference of the Warsaw Pact states' political consultative committee have been greeted with approval by the socialist countries' working people and by all the world's honest people. The most sober-minded Western politicians make a positive assessment of the socialist states' new peace initiatives. The leaders of a number of Western countries are also making more flexible statements than before about readiness to "consider" and "study" the new large-scale proposals of the USSR and the

allied socialist states. However, as the facts attest, the United States and its NATO allies do not intend to abandon their plans to continue the arms race or the policy of force and confrontation.

The further strengthening of the socialist countries' unity and their economic and defense potential must be the response to the aggressive imperialist circles' intention of pressuring socialism. Soviet servicemen--fervent patriots and internationalists--are profoundly aware of this. They well understand that the role of all-around cooperation among the socialist states and of their joint struggle for common aims in the world arena is increasing under modern conditions. By their selfless military labor Soviet servicemen are making a worthy contribution to strengthening the might and the defense capability of the great socialist community. Together with their brothers in arms--the servicemen of the other Warsaw Pact states' armies--they are reliably defending socialism's gains, peace and the security of all peoples.

(SO: 1807/98

INTERNATIONAL

RESULTS OF WARSAW PACT PRAGUE SUMMIT MEETING ASSESSED

PM191641 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 83 second edition p 3

[Article by Col B. Yablokov: "From Positions of Reason and Realism"]

[Text] The scheduled conference of the Warsaw Pact States' Political Consultative Committee [PCC] was held in Prague 4-5 January. Taking part in its work were general and first secretaries of the fraternal parties' central committees, heads of government, foreign ministers, defense ministers and other leading party and state figures of the allied countries and also the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' joint armed forces. As the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, which examined the results of the Prague conference, stressed, it was an event of major international significance.

Created in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty, the PCC has for over 25 years now been the most important center for elaborating and coordinating the allied states' foreign policy and their policy in the field of strengthening their defense capability.

Life confirms that the PCC conferences have always produced substantial positive results. Many peace proposals and initiatives put forward by the PCC have formed the basis of the decisions of major international forums or have been reflected in important international acts. It is enough to recall that it was the initiative of the PCC conference in Warsaw in 1965 which paved the way to the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In the crisis situations of the second half of the 20th century the PCC's firm, resolute stance has frequently had a sobering effect on the bellicose circles of imperialism and forced them to renounce their aggressive designs. It may be said that complete justification that if Europe has been living for nearly four decades now without wars then great credit for this goes to the military-political defensive alliance of the socialist countries and its supreme organ--the Political Consultative Committee.

The Prague conference of the PCC took place at a time of a sharp aggravation of the international situation and a dangerous growth in tension. International

imperialism headed by the United States is making strenuous attempts to do away with detente, to undermine the states' peaceful coexistence and to push the peoples onto the path of hostility and military confrontation. The United States and its NATO allies have unleashed an unprecedented arms race and are carrying out militarist preparations on an unprecedented scale with a view to achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries.

The attempts by the most reactionary circles of imperialism to disrupt the prevailing military-strategic equilibrium in the world, to constrict socialism and to break the world revolutionary process, and their desire to regain their lost positions by any means and to assert their global domination have heated the international situation to the limit and intensified the danger of the unleashing of a new war.

Under these conditions the world's peace-loving peoples waited excitedly and hopefully to see how the Warsaw Pact states would respond to the challenge from international imperialism. What path would they offer to protect our planet from the horrors of a new world war? And today, now that the documents of the Prague conference have been made known to the world public, no one doubts that the socialist community countries have made an important new contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace.

The top representatives of the Warsaw Pact states jointly analyzed, from positions of reason and political realism, the present situation in Europe and the world as a whole and defined the fraternal countries' further coordinated actions in the struggle to combat the threat of war, to maintain and deepen detente and to develop international cooperation. The political declaration adopted in Prague is a very complex document giving new impetus to the solution of complex international problems for the sake of the consolidation of peace and the peoples' security. It advances a realistic alternative to the slide toward nuclear war.

In assessing the present international situation those taking part in the conference proceed from the premise that, although the threat of war, primarily nuclear war, is intensifying, the forces of peace are nonetheless more powerful now than the forces of war. That is why successes in the struggle for peace depend primarily on the cohesion of these forces, on the purposefulness of their actions.

A central place in the struggle to prevent a new war belongs to the task of curbing the arms race, which poses a particular danger to mankind. Through the fault of U.S. imperialism it is now moving into a qualitatively new, more dangerous phase encompassing all types of armaments--nuclear and conventional--all types of military activity and practically all parts of the world.

Having demonstrated the entire rashness of the imperialists' calculations of victory as a result of nuclear aggression, the Warsaw Pact states urged other countries, particularly the nuclear powers, to display the political will and readiness for cooperation, to proceed in their military policy from exclusively defensive objectives and to seek agreements on reducing armed forces and armaments while strictly observing the principle of equality

and identical security, and urged all nuclear powers to follow the Soviet Union's example and undertake to renounce first use of nuclear weapons. Those taking part in the conference appealed for the resolute activation of the talks under way on the entire range of questions of halting the arms race and for the resumption of the talks which have been broken off. An important step on this path would be the attainment of an accord between the major military states on halting the buildup of their armed forces, particularly their nuclear forces, in order then to move on to gradual nuclear disarmament.

The proposals contained in the political declaration thus open up a practical opportunity for halting the present dangerous development of events and resolving one after the other the tasks of limiting and reducing the arsenals of weapons, particularly nuclear weapons.

Those taking part in the conference paid great attention to questions of strengthening security in Europe. That is understandable. For it is in Europe that an enormous quantity of arms, both nuclear and conventional, is concentrated, and it is here that the armed forces of the two largest military alliances directly confront each other. The NATO bloc's intention to deploy the new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of a number of West European countries poses a particular danger to the European peoples.

Seeking to safeguard security in Europe, the states taking part in the conference advanced a whole package of proposals whose implementation would make it possible to strengthen confidence and the stability of the situation on the continent.

It is clear from the communique and the political declaration that there was an exchange of views at the conference on a wide range of other international questions, and it was noted in this connection that the normalization of the situation in the world is linked to a considerable degree with the elimination of existing hotbeds of military conflicts and the prevention of new ones in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions.

Those taking part in the conference sternly denounced the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and demanded the immediate and total withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, set forth their position on an all-embracing settlement of the Near East crisis and expressed themselves in favor of resolving by peaceful means all problems existing in the Caribbean Basin, Southeast Asia, the Pacific region, the Horn of Africa countries and other regions. They stressed that attempts to draw the states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania into military-political blocs or to extend to them the sphere of operation of existing blocs carries a danger of local conflicts growing into an armed clash on a world scale.

Special significance for the normalization of the world situation and for lowering the level of confrontation between the two largest military-political alliances is attached to the socialist countries' new proposal: concluding a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of

relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. It is perfectly obvious that the conclusion of such a treaty would accord with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the peoples of all countries.

The Warsaw Pact states' political declaration opens up broad opportunities for the cooperation of all those interested in preserving peace on earth. It raises still higher the Warsaw Pact organizations' international prestige as a reliable shield of peace and socialism.

It is now up to the West. Whether the opportunity for preventing the buildup of nuclear missiles weapons in Europe is realized and whether the threat looming over the peoples of the continent and indeed the world as a whole will be eased or, on the contrary, sharply intensified depends on the United States and its NATO allies. As for the Soviet Union and its allies, as the Prague conference of the PCC convincingly reaffirmed, they are doing everything in their power to ensure that reason triumphs in international affairs.

The PCC conference showed that under present conditions the role of the socialist countries' all-round cooperation, of their joint struggle for common goals in the world arena and of the exchange of experience of building socialism and communism is increasing still further. "Those taking part in the conference," the political declaration says, "expressing the will of their communist parties and peoples, confirm their determination to continue to strengthen the cohesion of the socialist countries, to develop and intensify political, economic and cultural cooperation and to pool their efforts in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress."

The socialist community countries have believed and continue to believe that it is not preparation for war, dooming the peoples to the senseless expenditure of their material and spiritual resources, but the consolidation of peace which represents the pathway into the future. At the same time no one in the West should nurture any illusions or interpret the love of peace of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states as a sign of weakness. The socialist countries' military-political alliance is strong not only through its political authority, it is strong through its defense might. Answering the question put by the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "We have sufficient... strength to counter imperialism's military threat."

While consistently pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies are at the same time vigilantly monitoring the intrigues of the enemies of peace and socialism and taking the necessary steps to maintain their countries' defense capability at the proper level. Questions of strengthening the Warsaw Pact countries' defense capability were a topic for examination also at the Prague conference of the PCC. Those taking part in the conference assessed positively the work of the defense ministers' committee and outlined further tasks. The PCC also heard a report from Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' joint armed forces, on the practical work performed by the joint command.

The Warsaw Pact states are not seeking military superiority over NATO and have no intention of attacking anyone. At the same time they are doing everything to ensure that the lovers of military adventures do not catch them unawares and that a potential aggressor knows that a crushing retaliatory strike inexorably awaits him.

CSO: 1807/99

INTERNATIONAL

BAHRAIN NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OFFICIAL'S 60TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH REPORTED

PM071617 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 82 second edition p 6

[Speech delivered by 'Abdallah 'Ali, member of the Bahrain National Liberation Front Command Committee, at working people's meeting devoted to 60th anniversary of the USSR--date, place not given]

[Text] Dear comrades!

We thank you for your invitation and we are proud to be taking part in your celebrations. On behalf of our party of communists and the Bahraini people we ardently congratulate you on the Soviet people's great red-letter day--the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. All progressive mankind is celebrating this significant and joyous date with you.

Soviet people piously keep the behests of the great Lenin, who called for the Soviet Union, the reliable bastion of the world proletariat, to be defended and strengthened. Thanks to the voluntary unification of the Soviet peoples on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, a new historical community of people--the Soviet people--emerged. As a result of the achievement of the Great October Socialist Revolution under the leadership of the CPSU the nationalities question has been resolved in your country, tremendous successes have been scored in the economic and social spheres and constant work is being carried out to satisfy increasingly fully the Soviet people's material and spiritual requirements. The Soviet constitution guarantees equal democratic rights for all the fraternal USSR peoples.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation of the Soviet multinational state based on the complete equality of its constituent peoples and on the principles of proletarian internationalism, which preclude any manifestations of nationalism, had a tremendous influence on the upsurge of the struggle of the international working class and the national liberation movement. All this created the preconditions of the formation of the world socialist system and deepened the crisis of imperialism, as a result of which the majority of the world's peoples have achieved independence. A new correlation of forces arose in the world. The historical initiative passed over to world socialism. The USSR won the reputation of the main champion of peace and a resolute opponent of the imperialist policy of war. The USSR became a firm pillar of the freedom-loving peoples.

The policy of imperialism, especially American imperialism, is a total contrast to this. It pursues the aim of enslaving the peoples and plunging them into an abyss of national, communal and religious strife. Examples of this can be found today in many parts of the world.

Imperialism is pursuing a policy of preparing for nuclear war, is building up the production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and is declaring many regions of the world, the Near East and Persian Gulf included, to be the sphere of its "vital interests."

Imperialism is inciting racist, fascist and Zionist regimes to expand. It is imperialism that bears the main responsibility for what is happening in Lebanon and the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, where the Zionists are perpetrating monstrous crimes in an attempt to strike against the Arab national liberation movement, to deprive the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights and to expand the American military presence in the Near East.

The Arab and other peoples derive inspiration from the experience acquired by your people under the leadership of the CPSU--experience of building socialism and communism, which guarantees the just solution of nationalities problems. We can see from the example of the development of the [Soviet] Central Asian peoples what socialism has to offer to the progress of small peoples.

Your great example inspires us to the struggle for democracy, social progress and unity.

The peoples of Bahrain and the other Arab countries express profound gratitude to the Soviet Union, which supports their struggle for total independence and social progress. Our peoples will oppose imperialism, Zionism and reaction in carrying out their policy of anti-Sovietism and in their attempts to sow doubts as to the need to strengthen friendship with the country of the great Lenin.

On the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR we wish the friendly Soviet people new victories in implementing the 26th Congress' decision under the leadership of the CPSU.

Long live the glorious anniversary--the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR!

Long live the CPSU!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

CSO: 1807/97

INTERNATIONAL

WW II WARSAW LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY REMINDS POLES OF SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Postwar Restoration of Warsaw

PM201347 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 83 second edition p 5

[Dispatch by special correspondent S. Bulantsev: "Poland: Warsaw's Liberation From the Hitlerite Occupiers"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw--Warsaw was really reborn from the ashes and rubble. Some 85 percent of all buildings and historical and architectural monuments lay in ruins, there was not a single bridge across the Wisla and there were almost no Warsaw inhabitants left. Here the overwhelming majority of the human lives lost and the devastation were the result not of military operations but the deliberate, planned barbarity of the fascists who intended, on Hitler's orders, to wipe the city from the face of the earth.

All surviving city dwellers set about restoring Warsaw, but there were not many of them. Soviet engineer troops came to their aid, cleared the mines from the buildings which remained intact and helped to dismantle barriers. It was then that food also began to arrive from the USSR: groats, flour, sugar, butter and other foods.

Today these episodes from the past do not have a merely historical ring. The restoration of Warsaw, all Poland's postwar history and the development of its economy are linked inextricably with our countries' multifaceted cooperation. The last few years have been turbulent and sometimes difficult for people's Poland. The Western countries, and primarily the United States, which do not like the development of events in Poland, are continuing their course toward undermining socialism in that country. By means of all sorts of "sanctions" they are seeking to create economic chaos. However, Poland has reliable allies. Soviet-Polish friendship, tempered in the years of the common struggle against fascism, is a mighty barrier on the path of these intrigues.

I recently visited Poland's largest enterprise for the production of measuring equipment and minicomputers. A considerable proportion of its output is exported. Here is what Wojciech Cackowski, first secretary of the plant PZPR Committee, said:

"The USSR is our biggest economic partner, we receive computer components from your country. Last year we increased production output 200 percent by comparison with 1981. This happened thanks to deliveries from the Soviet Union in accordance with concluded contracts. And it is not just our plant which is linked with Soviet firms by such partnership."

The temporal link is indissoluble; any event of the past has a modern resonance. In the Warsaw District of Ochota on a site covering several hectares a memorial complex has been sited--a tribute to the memory of the 630,000 Soviet servicemen who died during Poland's liberation. The words engraved on one of the monuments are as topical today as they were 38 years ago: "Polish-Soviet friendship cemented by the jointly shed blood is the foundation of the independence and freedom of people's Poland."

Recent Failure of 'Counterrevolutionaries'

PM201145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 83 morning edition p 5

[Our correspondent A. Druzenko dispatch under the rubric "On the 38th Anniversary of Warsaw's Liberation From the German Fascist Invaders": "That Memorable January"]

[Excerpts] "Our aktiv," Polish-Soviet Friendship Society board chairman Zbigniew (Karnafel) said, "embraces Warsaw inhabitants of different generations. They include war veterans, foremost production workers and young people. They have taken over from those who back in the years of the occupation set up 'circles of friends of the Soviet Union' here in Warsaw and who, despite the dangers, brought people the truth about the world's first socialist country. The traditions which were born at that terrible time have developed over the years of people's power, strengthened and stood the test of time."

The activity of Polish-Soviet Friendship Society activists, who had to repulsed the frenzied attacks of internal counterrevolutionaries, has recently intensified and become more diverse. Socialism's enemies failed to destroy the society's structural organizations--they are functioning in the majority of industrial enterprises, establishments and educational institutions in the Polish capital. Activists are working particularly fruitfully in such enterprises as the Warszawa steelworks, the optical plant and the Pollena perfumery. The economic aid which the Soviet Union has given and is continuing to give Poland at a difficult period--it has also affected many Warsaw enterprises--has once again graphically shown the Polish working people the strength of proletarian internationalism, the reliability of our cooperation and the sincerity of our friendship.

The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society board in the capital is preparing these days to sum up the competition held in conjunction with the editorial board of EXPRESS WIECZORNY (This is the name of Warsaw's evening paper). It was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation. As the competition organizers said, the questions relating to life in the 15 union republics aroused great interest. Hundreds of people, chiefly pupils of Warsaw schools, sent in answers. A number of Warsaw enterprises which are collective members of the society instituted prizes for the competition winners.

People here, in this city reborn from the ashes, understand the value of every day lived peacefully. The people of Warsaw are understandably distinguished by their profound interest in everything that serves to strengthen peace. This is why they have greeted with such unanimous approval and support the socialist community's new peace initiatives which found expression in the Warsaw Pact states' declaration adopted at the Political Consultative Committee conference in Prague.

Here is what Warsaw streetcar driver Jerzy Marczak said about this document: "I am a native of Warsaw. In this city I lived through September 1939, the nightmare years of the German occupation and the tragic days of the uprising, in which my mother died. That is more than enough to make me remember what war is like. I was and still am its enemy, the enemy of all who threaten peace. Therefore I can subscribe with full conviction to the declaration of peace and disarmament adopted in Prague."

The lofty awards conferred upon the city are kept in the People's Council of Warsaw. It was awarded two of them--the Virtuti Militari Order and the Grunwald Cross--for courage and heroism in the struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors. The "Builders of People's Poland" Order was conferred upon Warsaw for labor feats. Alongside are the honorary peace awards which the Polish capital has received for its contribution to this great cause uniting all people of good will on earth.

Poles Owe USSR 'Salvation'

PM210835 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 83 second edition p 3

[Polish publicist Z. Romanowski article: "Warsaw Lives, Warsaw Remembers; 17 January Is 38th Anniversary of Liberation of Poland's Capital"]

[Text] I shall begin with personal reminiscences. In mid-January 1945 the news spread among the inhabitants of the city of Plock on the Vistula that the Hitlerites were mining the city. Bridges, the rail and bus stations and the hospital were mined.... Sensing that the end was near, the enemy became particularly violent. In one apartment block the Hitlerites burned and wiped out 79 people. They shot down about 300 inmates of Plock prison. The adults and we children were gripped with terror. And it was at that very moment that the news reached us from another city on the Vistula to which the thoughts and feelings of Poles always turned: Warsaw was free! We were inspired with the belief that the time of our liberation was also dawning.

I am writing about this on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Warsaw's liberation by the Soviet Army and the Polish Army, which fought side by side with it. The Vistula-Oder offensive which brought freedom to the Polish capital at the same time meant the end of the nightmare of Hitlerite enslavement for all the Polish lands that were still occupied. But for the might and pace of the Soviet offensive and but for the correct strategy of the invincible Soviet Army's command, the Hitlerites would have succeeded in preparing the same fate for ancient Krakow, old Poznan and Plock, industrial Katowice and other cities as they did for Warsaw.

Heroic Warsaw lost hundreds of thousands of people as a result of the war and the Hitlerite occupation. On Liberation Day the left bank of the city lay in ruins, the center and other areas were deserted. The ruined Polish capital's streets, squares and parks were the graves for about 125,000 people.

If we Poles say that we owe to the Soviet Union and its heroic army our salvation from doom, that must be taken literally. If Poland, in conjunction with the USSR and other socialist community countries, defends the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world, it is because our peoples remember clearly the horrors of war, are familiar with the difficult deprivations connected with the restoration of devastated cities and villages and know the value of creative peaceful labor....

Each new anniversary of Warsaw's liberation has its own unique character connected with the rhythm of the postwar years. In January 1946, the citizens of Warsaw gathered at the brotherhood in arms monument--among the first in the reborn capital. That monument symbolized eternal gratitude to the liberators. Since then it has become a tradition to mount honor guards and lay flowers at this monument and at the Soviet servicemen's cemetery-mausoleum in the city center.... Subsequent anniversaries fell during the years of the restoration and expansion of the city, which became increasingly beautiful.

But then a time came when Warsaw, along with the entire country, experienced dramatic trials because of the intrigues of internal antisocialist forces zealously supported by imperialist sabotage centers. They wanted to turn back the clock of Polish history at the cost of a fratricidal struggle. They wanted to cancel out all that is of greatest value to Poles who are patriots and internationalists. They encroached upon the existence of the sovereign socialist Polish state and Polish-Soviet friendship, to which we owe our liberation, the security of our borders and the opportunity for peaceful labor for the good of the socialist motherland. And although not all the difficulties are yet over, the intrigues of socialist Poland's enemies were resolutely nullified.

Warsaw greets the 38th anniversary of its liberation as a city where the pulse of normal everyday labor beats loud and clear. Poland's capital looks to the future with hope.

CSO: 1807/100

INTERNATIONAL

'KROKODIL' FEATURES CARICATURES ON AFGHAN CONFLICT

[Editorial Report] Moscow KROKODIL in Russian No 2, Jan 83, pp 8-9 carries a 1,000-word article titled "Mission to Kabul" by Soviet artist Yuriy Cherepanov. The article is spread over two full pages and includes nine caricatures drawn by Cherepanov when he visited Afghanistan last fall for the opening of a show of his works. His pictures and commentary make the following observations:

--Life is returning to normal in the cities, but journalists must carry weapons whenever they venture out into the countryside.

--The people's passion for knowledge is the driving force behind the efforts to rebuild the "approximately 1,500" schools which have been destroyed by the insurgents.

--Men and materiel are continuing to be sent in from abroad by Americans and other imperialist powers.

--Afghan military officers are brave, resourceful, and speak Russian in many cases; the insurgents are cowardly and even hide behind women's clothes.

--And, in a play on the Russian words involved, Cherepanov notes that, Western claims to the contrary notwithstanding, pomegranates not grenades, lines for telephones rather than automatic weapons, and shoes rather than tanks dominate the daily life of the residents of Herat.

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CSO: 1800/660

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

POLISH FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY HEAD REPLACED--[TASS report: "At Friendship Society Board"] A session of the central board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society was held 14 January to discuss the preparation of measures to mark the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. At his own request A.P. Shitikov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union, was relieved of his duties as chairman of the central board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. Twice hero of the Soviet Union Lt Gen G.T. Beregovoy, chief of the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, was elected chairman of the board. [Text] [PM191005 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 83 morning edition p 3]

CSO: 1807/102

NATIONAL

RELIGIOUS, NATIONAL IDENTITIES CONTRASTED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 31-33

[Article by Ya. Minkyavichyus, doctor of philosophical science: "Religion and the Church in the National Life of a People"]

[Text] It is common knowledge that in spite of the general 20th century crisis in religion, it is still a highly significant influence in the national life of many people, including modern developed nations. The very existence of a large number of different religious cults, theological doctrines, and churches provides a historically accurate reflection of the economic, sociocultural and natural life processes of tribes, nationalities, and nations. This also includes worldwide, global religions. Every world religion--Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam--is broken up into a number of rival cults, originating due to social factors in the national life of Europe and Asia, Africa and America, Australia and Oceania. The faithful practice Catholicism in Italy or the Philippines, Islam in Turkey or Indonesia, and Buddhism in Sri Lanka or Japan, depending on local traditions.

The role of religion and the church in the national life of a people and in their dealings with one another is not only complex but contradictory, with an extremely broad range of conflicting developments. Because of this, one should keep in mind that it is impossible to reconcile the idea of religion as a form of social consciousness with certain historically specific positions of the church.

The contradictory role of religion and the church in national life depends largely on the fact that ethnic and religious forms of a given society are found in every relationship: a given nation can have one or several religions; a given religion can be monoethnic or polyethnic.

Keeping in mind the complicated interlocking roles of the different religions with different national political and government factors, it can be said in the broadest sense that religion simultaneously fulfills an ethnointegrating and ethnosegregating role. i.e., it serves both as an element of national and international unification and of separation. The historical role (progressive, neutral or reactionary) of this function does not depend as much on religion as it does on social class, politics and cultural factors. Depending on these, religion can promote nationalism

and fanatic chauvinism, claims of supremacy by one nation or another, and international and intergovernmental conflicts. On the other hand, the faithful, religious organizations and the church can use religion to motivate cooperation and friendship between nations, pacifism and the struggle for peace.

This contradictory role of religion in the modern world was noted in the Central Committee's Accountability Report at the 26th CPSU Congress. While pointing out the recent active emergence of Islamic slogans in several Eastern countries, indicating that communists respect Muslim religious convictions as they do those of other religions, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "The goals being pursued by the powers advocating any slogans are the important issue. The struggle for liberation can be waged under the banner of Islam. This has been borne out by historical experience, as it was very recently. But history also tells us that Islamic slogans are also used for counterrevolutionary revolts and reactionism. Accordingly, it all depends on the actual content of the specific movement."¹

Church activity is not purely religious in scope; it goes throughout an entire complicated national culture structure, exploiting ethics and art, philosophy and science, education and school, politics and the law. This activity can be used for the spiritual enslavement of a nation's own people by different ideological and sociopsychological, political and cultural means, making them subservient to the exploiting classes, the reactionary political regime, and the foreign enslavers and colonialists. But there are also many well-known instances of the clergy and church playing a progressive and patriotic role in the history of certain nations.

National histories give numerous instances of social and national movements occurring in the guise of religion. Lenin noted that: "The advance of political protest in the guise of religion is a phenomenon common to all nations, in a certain stage of their development."²

There are famous religious figures in the fields of education, literature and the arts, writing and book publishing, and philosophy and science in the history of any nation. Relics of artistic creativity, created by order of the church for religious needs, belong to the cultural and historical heritage.

All of these facts on the contradictory role of the church in national life are studied and evaluated from the standpoint of historical progress and of a people's national and international interests. Clergymen, theologians and religious historians themselves are usually one-sided in their evaluations of the role of religion and the church, overstating its positive influence. The factor of religion in the history of a nation is often given a nationalistic slant. It is, however, also possible for nihilists (often hiding behind 'ideological principle') to deny specific historical facts concerning the positive role of the church or individual religious figures in the national life of certain nations.

Marxist-Leninist methodology for the study and evaluation of the role of religion and church in national life starts from a dialectically materialistic understanding of the historical process, of the social class interests of the working masses, of the preempting of national traditions, and of cultural aesthetic and ethical values. We will consider the almost 2000-year history of Christianity and its role in the lives of many nations of all continents from this methodological platform.

In connection with the approaching 1000-year anniversary of the beginning of the spread of Orthodoxy on Russian cultural-ethnic soil, various points of view (some of them conflicting) concerning its significance in Russian history are being advanced. One point of view used the formerly strong connection of the ethnic and religious Russian Orthodox affiliation to groundlessly exaggerate the role of Orthodox Christianity and inscribe it in the cultural and historical tradition of the Russian nation. Actually it was not the Orthodox Church (in spite of its definite role), but social conflicts, the peasant and working class struggle for liberation, the progressive culture and ideology and, finally, the Socialist Revolution which brought about the process of Russian historical development.

The forthcoming 600-year anniversary of the coming of Christianity to Lithuania was instituted as a means of attracting attention to the role of Catholicism in the history of the Lithuanian nation. In the practice of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, in Catholic and to some extent in secular bourgeois historiography, and in the minds of some of the faithful, there has always been a strong tendency to consider the Lithuanian people as completely Catholic ("Lithuanian-Catholic") and to consider Catholicism a definite factor in the spiritual life of the people.

Insofar as the motto "Lithuanian-Catholic" renders absolute the relationship between the Lithuanian national and the Catholic religious communities, it diverges from the specific historical reality of national life. Catholic theologians depict the baptism of the Lithuanians in 1387 as a spiritual act (the ambassadorship of the "Holy Spirit"), maintaining that the Lithuanian people toward the end of the 14th century were spiritually ready for the meeting "with the Holy Spirit of the Roman Catholic mission." Actually Lithuania (the Lithuanians were the only pagan people left in Europe at that time) had been at this time at the crossroads of warring sociopolitical diplomatic and religious powers--the Kingdom of Poland, the Supreme Principality of Moscow, the Teutonic Order, and even to some extent Hungary, Austria, and the Golden Horde. Lithuania was "threatened" by Christianity from three sides (Catholicism from the Teutonic Order and Poland, Orthodoxy from the Russian princes).

The Lithuanian nobility recognized the inevitability and necessity of acceptance, primarily for feudal and legal interests, but also for dynastic ones. The Supreme Prince of Lithuania was obliged to become a Catholic, to marry the Polish Catholic queen Jadwiga, thereby uniting the Supreme Principality of Lithuania with the Kingdom of Poland, and to baptize his Court and the entire Lithuanian nation according to the rites of the Catholic Church. In return for Christianization, Lithuania obtained the Vilnius

Diocese as a feudal/Church possession with immunity (autonomy) rights, but it lost its sovereignty as a state.

The baptism of Lithuania portrayed by clergymen as an act of bringing the people to God in answer to the "spiritual need" of the people had historical analogies in other countries at that time. It should be sufficient to mention the examples of Poland and Kievan Russian. The baptism of Poland in 966 consolidated the dynastic union of the Polish prince Meshko I with the daughter of Czech prince Boleslav Dobravoy. Vladimir, a Kievan prince, became a Christian in 988 after marrying Anna, the sister of Byzantine Emperor Vasiliy II. Jagela [tr. note: the Lithuanian prince mentioned in the preceding paragraph] had once intended to marry Sofiya, the daughter of Dmitriy Donskoy, and join the Orthodox Church. As far as his Catholic baptism goes, it was rumored that he allowed a little water to be poured on his head "for the sake of the kingdom and his young beautiful wife (in 1387 Jagela was 35 and Jadwiga was 12).

If the clergy insists on a spiritualistic interpretation of the spread of Christianity in the Middle Ages, then those religious historians who are not inclined to ignore scientific facts cannot help but admit the definite role of feudal politics in the Christianization of Europe. We agree with the Catholic historian, Z. Ivinskis, who is influential in Lithuanian emigrant clerical circles. In a book called "History of Lithuania" published in Rome in 1978 he writes: "In the Middle Ages the road to Christianity taken by many well-known founders of governments was determined by various political circumstances. This was the case, for example, with Constantine the Great and the leaders of the German nations, Khlodvig and the Franks, Meshko and the Polish, and Jagela and the Lithuanians."

It took a century for the Catholic faith to become a part of the "tradition of the Lithuanian people," and the installation required a large and expensive church and social-class, ideological and political mechanism. The only ones for whom baptism was a single act were the feudal lords (1387-Lithuania, 1413-Zemaitiya). This was the worst spiritual trauma for the nation, a violent act against the Lithuanian tradition of the non-church culture of nature and their forefathers, and also a violation of the standards of their common law. The Christianization of Lithuania was accompanied not only by a confrontation of two religious and spiritual traditions, but an invasion of foreign missionaries, the beginning of Polonization. The common religion of the Polish and Lithuanians did not result in a union of "brothers in Christ." The nearly 600-year history of alliance and strife in ruling circles, discrimination against the Lithuanian lower classes by the Polish gentry, the simultaneous development of fanaticism and conflict on religious and nationalistic grounds and, finally, the 20-year occupation of the capital of Lithuania and the Vilnius Kray by Poland, the bourgeois landlord.

Speaking of how the Catholic Church was inculcated into Lithuanian national tradition, it is interesting to compare the historical differences concerning the baptism of Lithuania by two Lithuanian Catholic historians: I. Stakauskas and the aforementioned Z. Ivinskis.

On the 550th anniversary of Catholicism in Lithuania, I. Stakauskas wrote: "Each nation becomes Christian as the result of a meeting with Christ's emissary, coming about according to the age-old plans of Divine Providence... When the time came, the Lithuanians themselves, with no urging from anyone, decided to greet the coming of the kingdom of God and to subordinate themselves to the authority of the Roman Apostolic throne...The newly organized Catholic Church in Lithuania had an extremely important historical mission: to raise the Lithuanian nation to a supernatural level by making it Christian, fulfilling God's plan for it and directing it toward the eternal objective." The author does, however, state that in Lithuania "The process of Christianization was given a mechanical start from the higher-ups."³

In 1978 Z. Ivinskis, revealing the content of "the meeting of the Lithuanians with Christ's emissary" and describing the mechanism of this "age-old plan of Divine Providence," named the following factors as reasons for the baptism of Lithuania: the authority of the prince and the Polish queen, privileges for the nobility, and gifts for the common people who were baptized. He recalled the building of Polish Roman Catholic churches in the holy places of paganism, the conversion of the Church into a feudal institution and Catholicism into the mandatory state religion, the prohibition of mixed religious marriages, the forcible destruction of pagan religious objects (attended to personally by Jagela and Prince Vitovt), and the persecution of pagans, or of those baptized Lithuanians who did not follow the Christian law.⁴

The Christianization of Lithuania came about as the result of demands of the feudal structure, which it helped to strengthen. However, in historical perspective, this social class, political and spiritual sacrifices was compensated in some degree by the development of Lithuanian culture. Christian Lithuania became a part of the culture of Christian Europe. The culture of Lithuania was opened up to the influence of Eastern, Russo-Byzantine, and, even more, to Western culture. With the start of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and then the Age of Enlightenment, Lithuanian national culture was also enriched. Until then Catholicism, which had come from Poland, had not promoted Lithuanian cultural development. "There is now known instance of bishops or other high Church dignitaries arriving in Lithuania proper from Poland who devoted themselves to the founding of schools and propagation of a Lithuanian written language."⁵

In the 17th century, as a result of the dissemination of ideas from the Renaissance and the Reformation movement, the first Lithuanian book, a Catechism by Martinus Mazhvidas, was published at Konigsberg. A Lithuanian statute (a feudal law code with several progressive features) was developed. Vilnius became a book publishing center. A Protestant college (a school of higher education) whose teachers later became professors at Konigsberg University was opened there (in spite of the interdiction of the local Catholic bishop). Vilnius University was founded as a result of the Jesuit Counter-Reformation battle with Protestantism (first as a Jesuit college, then as an academy). Its 400-year Jubilee (1979) was an important national and international holiday for the Lithuanian people.

If the spread of Catholicism was accompanied by the Polonization and sometimes the Latinization of the Lithuanian culture, then Protestantism was more oriented toward a national culture. The only outstanding exception among Catholics of the period was the highly educated humanist and dean of the church from Zemaitia, Mikaloyus Dauksha. He had the honor of becoming the first author of Lithuanian books published at Vilnius in the Jesuit university typography.

The Reformation also had deeper social consequences in Lithuania. Its radical wing (the Arians,⁶ or "Lithuanian Brethren," safeguarding the interests of the urban and rural poor) took a stand against feudalism. If humanism brought the progressive representatives of the urban aristocracy to rationalism and atheism, then it brought the lower classes to Utopian socialism. The Arians took a stand for equality of property, as opposed to serfdom. Soon, however, the social and political danger for the ruling classes of the radical direction of the Reformation was cleverly made use of by the Counter-Reformation Jesuits: the Jesuits frightened the feudal lords with horror of the Peasant War in Germany, and they began to return to the Catholic faith, strengthening the monopoly of Catholicism in Lithuania for a long time.

But even after the Counter-Reformation was victorious in the late feudal era, the deep-rooted confrontation between the pre-Christian tradition and official Catholicism continued in Lithuania, often accompanied by terrorism (for example, the "witch" trials). The former spirit of religious tolerance maintained since the time of Gediminas, a pre-Christian Lithuanian high prince, and strengthened during the period of the Reformation, was crushed by the Catholic politics of intolerance. The Polonization of Lithuania gained renewed strength as the ruling Catholic Church became more firmly entrenched, and conditions conducive to partial secularization of school and science, social thought, national consciousness and moral philosophy did not develop until the Age of Enlightenment.

During the era that Lithuania was a part of the Russian Empire (from 1795 to the October Revolution), the Church's role was determined by conditions of the time and, it appears, was not a well-defined one.

The Napoleonic invasion, the anti-tsar, anti-feudal movement, the collapse of serfdom, the development of capitalism, the start of the workers' movement, the 1905-1907 Revolution, World War I, the development of a secular culture and national self-awareness--this is the socioeconomic, political, ideological and cultural background (of course these are only the high points) against which the relationship between the Catholic Church and the national interests of the Lithuanian people developed. The sociopolitical and ideological position of the Church conflicted with the interests of the feudal peasantry, and when capitalism developed it was also in conflict with the interests of the entire working class.

At the same time, the movement for national liberation from tsarist autocracy and serfdom and later from capitalism involved individual church figures (for example, a Lithuanian revolutionary democratic priest, Antanas

Matskyavichyus, became one of the leaders of the 1863 uprising.) Members of the clergy who became a part of Lithuanian national cultural history were: M. Mazhvidas, K. Donelaytis, L. Reza, M. Valanchyus, A. Strazdas, A. Baranauskas, Y. Mayronis, Yu. Vayzhgantas, et al.

Under the conditions of monarchism and rabid chauvinism, a stop on the Lithuanian press, and increased Russianization, and with the tsarist government using "Orthodoxy, Autocracy Nationalism" as the basic formula for its politics, various sociopolitical, ideological and cultural conflicts frequently took on a national religious form: "Russian-Orthodox versus "Lithuanian-Catholic," and the reverse, "Lithuanian-Catholic vs. "Russian-Orthodox." Throughout the whole Russian empire there was a strong tendency to contrast the "native born Orthodox" and the "foreign born Heterodox." Such political, ideological and sociopsychological confrontation distorted the real social and national interests of the people (Lithuanian as well as Russian), covering up class conflicts. And they also used tsarism to this end. It was not by accident that in the process of forming the Lithuanian nation and the development of the national movement an important place was occupied by the Catholic intelligentsia, who confronted secular bourgeois liberalism from their conservative positions. Although the intelligentsia often spurred the religious peasantry to action, involving them in the movement against the Orthodox rule and the antinational assimilation policy of tsarism, and also against Polonization, it did not come out against the tsarist autocracy, directing most of its efforts against social democracy and the workers' movement.

The reactionary role of the Catholic clergy, using the people's religion for its own objectives, was most clearly developed in the face of the political events which most acutely affected the national interests of the Lithuanian people: during the period of the Socialist Revolution and the struggle for Soviet power, during the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the Fascist regime, during World War II and Hitler's occupation and during the first years after the war. Under these conditions, the Church used its political power, the reactionary Christian Democrat Party, support from abroad, and cartel organizations to fight against the revolutionary proletariat movement, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and Soviet authority.

Characteristically, during the years of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Lithuania, religion was used for political purposes not only by the church, but also by the bourgeois nationalists. The Catholic Church was obliged to do some maneuvering in its political orientation and religious activities between the Vatican and the bourgeois nationalists, and later the fascist rulers. Being spiritually and officially subject to the Vatican, the Lithuanian Catholic Church could not help but consider the national conditions of its existence (in spite of its Christian cosmopolitanism), particularly the interests of the ruling classes. The church and the authorities needed mutual support. It was for this purpose that the fascist government of Lithuania concluded a concordat with the Vatican in 1927. This was essentially an antinationalist and antidemocratic act, for the concordat created conditions making it possible for the Vatican to interfere in the internal affairs of Lithuania, and for clericalism and clerical privileges to become more firmly entrenched.

The process of political differentiation among Lithuanian clergymen was at its liveliest in 1940 during Hitler's occupation and in the first years after the war. A certain number of clergymen attached themselves to Hitler's occupation army and then made a connection with the nationalist underground. Many of these clergymen then emigrated to capitalist countries and started up movements there against Soviet Lithuania and the USSR. But a large part of the clergy whose activity did not go beyond the limits of parish and diocesan religious functions have remained loyal to the Soviet government. Now only a few extremists and activist priests take a stand against the Soviet legislation dealing with religious cults, tending to concern themselves with the national as well as the religious emotions of the faithful, in no way using them in an international spirit.

The 600-year history of Catholicism in Lithuania indicates that the influence of the religion and church activity is, in the last analysis, always determined by sociopolitical, ideological and cultural factors.

In spite of the fact that for long centuries religion took root in the national life of the Lithuanian people by extremely effective means, the loss of its former influence and significance was comparatively quick (3-4 decades), during the republic's radical socialist transformation. The clerical, and to a certain degree the nationalist concept of a symbiotic ethnic and religious community (Lithuanian-Catholic) has proved to be repudiated by history. Certain emigrant circles are trying in vain to revive it through anticommunist and antisoviet activities.

As socialism has developed, the Lithuanian nation has lost even more of the former religious attributes of its ethnic life. As regards the historical past, which church representatives are only too happy to bring up in order to idealize the role of Catholicism in the national makeup of Lithuania, as indicated above (albeit extremely fragmentarily and briefly) the ambiguous, sometimes contradictory role of the church in the sociopolitical and cultural life was determined mainly by the social class structure and social processes, and also by Lithuania's international position.

In historical perspective, (as in the past) the dialectics of the national and religious relationship are such that social progress, determining socio-economic, political and cultural development of a nation emerges as the limiting factor which defines religion's territory and the sphere of its activity. National-ethnic affiliation is a family geneological heritage, whereas religious affiliation is the product of class, sociocultural and ideological processes, subject more to historical dynamics than the former. National affiliation is determined by birth, whereas religious affiliation is determined by external means, including upbringing. Since these two affiliations are dissimilar they are inevitably historically different. This general historical tendency, of course, develops differently according to the circumstances of different nations.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy 26th s'yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress] Moscow, 1981, p 13.
2. Lenin, V. I. "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 4, p 228.
3. "Khristianstvo v Litve" [Christianity in Lithuania], Kaunas, 1938, pp 1, 2, 3 (In Lithuanian)
4. Ivinskis, Z., "Istoriya Litvy" [History of Lithuania], Rome, 1978, pp 290, 291 (In Lithuanian)
5. "Istoriya Litovskoy SSSR (s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney)" [History of the Lithuanian SSR (from ancient times to the present day)], Vilnius, 1978, p 102.
6. Arians: proponents of a heretical movement in Christianity, denying the dogma of the Holy Trinity and the divine nature of Christ during the Reformation, representing its radical wing.

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NATIONAL

PAPER ON ROLE OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUSSIAN CULTURAL HISTORY

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 34-36

[Article by V. Zots, doctor of philosophical science: "The Cultural Hoax"]

[Text] In response to an editorial request¹ to take part in a discussion of questions concerning the role of religion and atheism in the history of culture, I should like to give an opinion on several aspects of this complicated and seldom-treated problem. I will make a reservation right at the beginning: I concur with the opinion of those participants in the philosophical seminar in the city of Azov who concede religion's part in the spiritual life of human society at a definite stage of its history but feel that it exerts a bad influence on cultural development. Consequently, I am not in agreement with those who consider religion a "factor promoting cultural progress".

Religion cannot be treated as a phenomenon that was outside the sphere of the spiritual life of the pre-socialist societies. At the same time, the Marxist and Leninist classics repeatedly maintained that religion is a consequence of "a narrow-minded materialistic way of doing things and of the narrow-minded social relationships that have thereby evolved". Marx emphasized that religion was "a false world view", for it was engendered by a "'false' world; Religious poverty is the expression of real poverty"²; "The existence of religion is the existence of imperfection; religion is a manifestation of worldly narrowmindedness, an expression of the alienation and isolation of one man from another."³ Accordingly, as the authors of notes from the philosophical seminar correctly maintain, religion always makes a hoax of those spheres of material and cultural activity with which it deals.

The question of the role of atheism, religion, and the church in the formation and development of the culture of our country's peoples is the object of an acute ideological struggle related on the one hand to attempts by the clergy to proclaim religion as the fundamental spiritual culture, and on the other hand to different types of misinterpretations of these complicated questions by anticommunists and nationalists. I would like to deal with this in a more detailed manner.

At this time, on the eve of the 1000-year anniversary of Christianity in Russia, the question of religion's place in the development of the spiritual culture has become particularly important. In works by a number of church authors, in BOGOSLOVSKIYE TRUDY [Theological Works] published by the Moscow Patriarchate, in the pages of ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHIYEY, PRAVOSLAVNIY VISNIK and in many theological dissertations, the accomplishments of religion in the formation and development of spiritual culture have been emphasized in every possible way; the idea prevails that Christianity alone is responsible for the development of a written language, philosophy, etc., in Russia.

"The establishment of Christianity in Russia," writes ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII (1982, No 1, p 6) "had a great deal of influence on the development of education and culture in our Fatherland. The monasteries that had sprung up everywhere became not just centers of spiritual enrichment for the newly-enlightened flock, but also centers of literary education... During the year that we will solemnly observe a thousand years of Christianity in Russia we can celebrate with the entire population the thousandth anniversary of our native culture and literature."

Materials from the 1971 Russian Orthodox Church local council state that the Church had a very great influence on the civic and political life of the Russian people: it made the family stronger, took a definite stand against selling people into slavery, etc. Modern theologians maintain that the spread of Christianity in Russia was the result of God's Providence, and that it was indeed "intuitive wisdom" that induced Princess Olga and then Prince Vladimir to embrace Christianity. Facts of historical science, however, reveal that it was indeed not royal "intuitive wisdom" or "Divine Providence", but a completely practical need for unification that caused the ruling clique of the Old Russian state to use Christianity (due to its monotheistic nature) as a unifying ideology.

The author of an article published in PRAVOSLAVNIY VISNIK (1969, No 9) is obliged to confess that Princess Olga had to overcome her son Prince Svyatoslav's hostility to Christianity. "I have become acquainted with God," she told him, "and I am happy. When you get to know him, then you will be happy too." Svyatoslav's answer to this, however, was: "How can I accept this law? The troops will laugh at me." His mother's admonitions were in vain. Svyatoslav did not accept Christianity. Olga probably had good cause for apprehension when she said to Patriarch Poliekt in Constantinople: "My people and my son are heathens--God save me from this grief."

The people really mounted an obvious although often unconscious protest against the spread of Christianity, which made their material as well as their spiritual burden heavier. Let us remember the example of the anti-feudal popular movements of the 11th and 12th centuries, which took place under anti-Christian slogans. In order to overcome the people's opposition, the Church compromised, adopting many pagan beliefs and rites. And so, several functions of Perun [ancient Slavic god of thunder] were transferred to the Prophet Elias, Saint Vlasia took on the duties of Veles, the god of livestock, and the Christian Church had to resign itself to a rowdy pagan Carnival.

Modern theologians consider the development of a written language in the old Russian government to be a gift from God, received by Russia along with Christianity. Meanwhile, research by Soviet archeologists, study of 11th century birch writings that they discovered, inscriptions on clay vessels, owners' names on walls, and artisans' signs on various artifacts confirm that a written language had developed in Russia before the coming of Christianity. Many researchers believe that it developed in several Eastern Slavic centers--Kiev, Novgorod, the northern coasts of the Black Sea.

Existence of a pre-Christian written language is confirmed by treaties between Russia and Greece and preserved in the work "Tales of the Old Days". One of them contains a footnote to the effect that the treaty is drawn up "na dvoiu khart'yu", i.e., in two copies, for each of the contracting parties --one in Greek, and the other in the language of the nation with whom the treaty was being concluded. The very fact that writing existed here from pre-Christian times explains the rapid spread of the Cyrillic alphabet and the appearance of such important relics of written language as the Ostromirovo Gospel and Svyatoslav's "Collection".

The fact that Christianity advocated meekness and humility and particularly its attitude toward "secular wisdom" as an obstacle to understanding Divine Revelation were intrinsically foreign ideas to the people of Kievan Russia. Although the Christian church professed scorn for the "perishable existence", the people maintained their distinctive culture. It continued to develop, as reflected in the most ancient popular oral poetic work, in the magnificent "bylina" [epic poem], in sculpture, painting, carving, embroidery, and in wood architecture. Despite the church's oppression and harsh control, the ancient Russian masters were able to convey the spiritual strength and high hopes of their contemporaries in their works of art. The nation basically adopted from the Byzantine tradition whatever it needed to fill its spiritual needs.

In spite of the people's religious standards and institutions, their everyday lives were guided, as a rule, by materialistic philosophies. The 11th century relic, "Life of Nifont" indicates this as an example. One is struck by the fact that when describing their travels, foreigners speak of the Slavs as a not very religious people. When concluding trade agreements and other treaties, the representatives of European countries usually swore in the name of God, and kissed the cross and the Gospel, whereas the representatives of Kievan Russia promised to observe the conditions on their word of honor.

Historical study indicates that many facts bear witness to the free-thinking, anticlergy, and antireligious traditions of the Slavic nations, particularly the Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians.

The spiritual culture and social progress of the society developed, rising above the suppressive influence of religious ideology. As V. I. Lenin emphasized, "The idea of God always lulled and deadened 'social feelings', replacing the living with the dead, and was always an idea of slavery (the worst, inescapable slavery)".⁴

It is my opinion that one more aspect of this problem must be considered. Having instituted a ruling ideology, the Orthodox Church brought under its rule all forms of social consciousness, including art. Religion has always needed art, and needed its ability to have a profound influence on man. It turned to art as a means of embodying its moral ideas, using its emotional force to help enkindle religious feelings, creating a united frame of mind in the faithful and bringing them to God in a united surge. The Orthodox Church actively used literature, painting and architecture for the propagation of religious morality. However, certain works of religious art were in conflict with theological objectives, even though religious laws ruled the artists' consciousness.

Of course, all artistic images (including personifications of the supernatural) are products of human fantasy. And any of them can incite a whole gamut of emotions in man. But, "In essence artistic fantasy and religious fantasy are intrinsically different from one another. One fantasy leads man forward, toward the achievement of a true goal, awakens his energy, directs his will, organizes and mobilizes knowledge and feelings. The other fantasy always has and always will lead man away from reality, weakens him, distracts him from the solution of real problems of practical life".⁵

Significant in terms of their artistic merit, religious art relics are undoubtedly a part of the general cultural heritage of our nation. But, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, a legacy in the cultural area is not preserved as an archives custodian saves old paper.⁶ To preserve the cultural heritage of the past means to constantly study it from the position of today, to subject it to critical analysis, allowing real values to be separated from the false...⁷

Scientific research on the role of church and religion in the history of our country is also important due to the fact that in recent years the voices declaring religion as the foundation of the national cultures of our country's inhabitants are heard more and more often among the unanimous chorus of anticommunists distorting and falsifying our Fatherland's history.

Foreign liars often use such ideas as "the national character of the Russians as the Chosen People"; "the providential nature of Russian history"; "unity of Church and Nation", etc. While these "phenomena" are evaluated in different ways, they are alike in one respect--their unwillingness to see and understand the real reason for the blossoming of the country's spiritual culture into socialism.

Specifically, in speeches at the November 1981 symposium "Common Christian Roots of European Nations", under the aegis of the Vatican in Rome, the idea of a mystical "spiritual" compliance by Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians with the basic postulates of the Christian religion was vehemently stressed.

The majority of participants in the symposium maintained that "A special piety is characteristic of the Ukrainian philosophy", a singular "mystical connection to the Supreme Being". This means that the participants feel that these personal characteristics of the Ukrainians have not changed in

many centuries. Starting from similar premises, the nationalistic clergymen-pseudotheorists come to conclusions concerning the "contrast" in the historical paths of development of the Ukraine and Russia, the "unsuitability of socialist ideas for the Ukraine", inasmuch as its culture is a "blend of Western Counter-Reformation and Ukrainian-Byzantine Orthodoxy". Similar fabrications are also used in attempts to prove the fundamental roles for Islam in the life of Central Asian nations and Catholicism in the establishment and development of the Baltic republics' popular culture.

One can certainly conclude from everything that has been said that the religious ideologists of today are trying to "reinterpret" history, to invent a role for religion in all stages of civilization, including the modern world. Accordingly, steps are taken to represent atheism as an accidental phenomenon, alien to culture, in the development of humanity.

The USSR is the first country in the world to have mass atheism, and it has become the guiding star for the world's nations building a more humane society. In this connection, one of the most important criteria in the maturity of socialist culture is its atheistic character. Historical experience has assuredly proven that cultural progress and the development of atheism are intrinsically connected.

Several Western "experts" on Russian culture try to depict it as lower, "inferior" to the West. Thus, James Billington, a professor at Princeton University, published a book in the United States called "The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretation of Russian Cultural History". In 35 sheets the author relates the history of Russian culture, a summary of its development from the time of the adoption of Christianity to the present. Not burdening himself with a serious study of the subject, Billington declares ancient Russian culture inferior, a "culture of great silence", which in his opinion is generally not worthy of any attention. Icons and church architecture are the only exceptions that he makes, since he feels that they are the only manifestations of ancient culture. For the American professor, the history of Russian culture begins with the adoption of Christianity. For him, pre-Christian culture simply does not exist.

These and other similar kinds of fabrications support and popularize completely a specific idea. By maintaining that the culture of nations settling the USSR had a Christian foundation, and by insisting upon the innate religiosity of the Russians, they contrast "authoritarian" Russia with the "democratic" West and draw a conclusion from this contrast: first, that socialism is unacceptable for Western countries, and second, that socialism has not promoted cultural progress in Russia, due to its specific religious traditions.

A number of Western religious philosophers and historians, including some emigrants, try to convince their readers of the fact that the commonality of the history and culture of Eastern and Western European countries is based primarily "on a platform of Christian culture". In this manner they hope to prove that the world system of socialism, pitted against capitalist society, is a transient, temporary phenomenon and that Christian civilization, on the other hand, is fundamental and eternal.

By rendering absolute the national cultural specifics of any nation, the authors of these concepts are inclined to break down a single historical process into national and regional "cultural-historical types". Bourgeois-nationalistic ideas about the "spirit of a nation" and the "national character", are hereby engendered, essentially negating the possibility of cultural interactions between nations.

Modern nationalistic clergymen repeat endlessly that it is as though the "intrinsic connection between nations and religions has been artificially broken under socialism, due to increased activity on the part of government authorities against the faithful, clergy, and religious organizations." Advocating the idea of "national piety" and "religious nationalism" on this basis, they affirm that spiritual life for a nation or a national culture is impossible without religion.⁸

In dealing with the history of social thought in the Ukraine, such figures of militant Ukrainian nationalism as D. Dontsov, D. Chizhevskiy, and I. Mirchuk try to prove in every way that faith is the only way to set spiritual culture in motion. Furthermore, in a book on the history of philosophy in the Ukraine, Chizhevskiy tries to minimize the role of the Slavic nations in the development of spiritual culture, maintaining that they only adopted existing forms from the West. He feels that "religious painting clearly stands out in the history of Ukrainian thought." In Mirchuk's opinion, the Slavic nations' deep piety is an "important component of their national psychological structure."

Anticommunist ideologists have recently shown increased interest in Russian religious philosophy, particularly in such figures as K. Leont'ev, V. Rozanov, D. Merezhkovskiy, N. Berdyayev, S. Bulgakov, and L. Shestov. By reprinting their compositions and the collections "Landmarks" and "From the Depths," the bourgeois ideologists are trying to "modernize" and adapt to contemporary times ideas that have been debunked through every course of social development.

The clergymen also try to "adapt" the works of prominent old masters to their ideas, and to misinterpret the character of the creations and philosophy of prominent writers and philosophers such as the Ukrainians G. Skovoroda and T. Shevchenko. They try to portray the former as an Orthodox intellectual Christian and the latter as an advocate of the Orthodox Church, an ideologist of nationalism. In one of the articles found in the first volume of KOBZARYA, published in Canada, it is mentioned that Shevchenko "was a poet-romantic in his spiritual orientation, a philosopher-idealist in all spheres of his creative imagination, thinking, convictions, morals, belief, and experiences. His philosophy from the very beginning of his work to the end of his life was an idealistic and Christian one."

It is useful to compare this statement with one written at the beginning of the century by Antoni, deputy archimandrite [abbot] of the Kiev-Pecherskaya lavra [monastery] in connection with a construction project on a monument to the poet in Kiev: "Repeated observations have indicated that Shevchenko's compositions...depict eloquently and absolutely shamelessly,

in characters and in actions: atheism, blasphemy, denial of authority and the law, hatred for his Fatherland, Russia, and for her church, the Orthodox Church, for his native tsarist autocracy, for his supreme monarchs, Peter I, Catherine II and Nicholas I, and they incite...to many other revolutionary manifestations. According to this, the monument proposed by the municipal дума [town council] is obviously quite inappropriate..."

In all of his works T. Shevchenko fought against landlords "at home and abroad", against tsarism, for a society "without serf or landowner," for a "free, new" family of nations, and he appealed to the working people to win freedom and independence forcibly--with a steel-headed axe.

Shevchenko's followers--the prominent Ukrainian authors I. Franko, L. Ukrainka and M. Kotsyubinskiy, considered their work, literature, to be an important part of the class struggle and called for revolutionary humanism as opposed to the abstract and religious. Having something in common with Shevchenko, Lesva Ukrainka created the figure of Prometheus, a theomachist and titan warrior--the symbol of an unsubdued nation. Disregarding all of this, the representatives of the clerical nationalist camp who earlier had come out against Shevchenko, Franko and Ukrainka, now declare them as the spokesmen for the "spirit of the God-loving Ukrainian people."

A scientifically proven disclosure of the real process of creating spiritual values is an important task of scientific-atheistic education, of all cultural education work. And this, in turn, necessitates further study and research by scholars on the question of the reciprocal influence of culture and religion.

Some of our literary works dealing with art, history, and art criticism wrongfully idealize and poeticize the distant past, the trappings of patriarchy, the ancient life. The old days are portrayed as a sort of golden century--a time of kindly tsars and benevolent pastors. A conciliatory attitude toward religion comes from this: if it did not play a negative role in society then, it is certainly not necessary to formulate atheistic beliefs at the present time, when it is not as strong as it was before.

As mentioned in PRAVDA: "We still encounter attempts to represent piety as a trait of national independence and nonobservance of religious holidays as practically a revolt against the 'legacy of our fathers.' These attempts are supported and exaggerated from the outside by bourgeois propaganda intended to give new life to religious and nationalistic prejudices. All means of ideological warfare should be used to decisively foil the schemes of the bourgeois ideologists who are trying to twist the meaning of the process of mutual enrichment of the spiritual culture of the Soviet peoples, depicting religion as a necessary attribute in the development of their social and cultural lives."⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. See No. 10 of our journal, this year, article "Culture and Philosophy: Problems and Discussion." (Editor's note)
2. Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 1, pp 414-415.
3. Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Arkhiv," [Archives], book 1, p 215.
4. Lenin, V. I., "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 48 p 232.
5. Ugrinovich, D.M., "Filosofskiye problemy kritiki religii" [Philosophical Problems of Religious Critics], Moscow, 1965, p 295.
6. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 2, p 542.
7. Ugrinovich, D.M., "Voprosy nauchnogo ateizma" [Questions of Scientific Atheism"], Religious Art and its Contradictions., Issue 17, p 101.
8. Minkyavichyus, Ya., Religiya v mnogonatsional'nom mire [Religion in a Multinational World]. Vilnius, 1978, p 182.
9. PRAVDA, 15 Sept 1972

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LABOR INFRACTIONS AT ALMA-ATA FACTORY DESCRIBED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by A. Levchenko, foreman, deputy secretary of the party organization of shop No 3 of the plant imeni Kirov: "Conserve Working Time"]

[Text] Working time is the most active and the most useful, the most memorable part of the day of each of us. The cognitive part of human life is formed of these times. Your skill, your professional characteristics depend on how productive, intelligently and with wisdom you arrange your work time. It is precisely the wise use of work time which has always distinguished and will distinguish the intelligent worker from the negligent. Do we always and everywhere learn and teach conservation of work time? Do we always have a respectful attitude to work time of our comrades?

Today we are publishing the letter of A. Levchenko which was received by the editorial staff, and we ask the readers to participate in this conversation which will be held in the new year under the column "Conserve Working Time."

From day to day, I, like every one of us, work together with other comrades, look to them, compare, and draw conclusions.

I am struck by the fact that we have many people who want to imitate everything. Here is the senior smelter of our shop, Ivan Panteleyevich Yegorov. The years and breathing flame have made tracks in his good face. His hands still carry the distinct traces of the every day contact with metal. For 27 years Ivan Panteleyevich has been preparing smelt for production. He has 5 furnaces in his shop, just try to turn around! He arrives at the plant before the beginning of the shift in order to begin the work day without disturbance, in order to prepare the necessary tools.

Everyone in the shop respects Ivan Panteleyevich, because he not only thinks about himself, and he takes upon his shoulders for his own actions, but also for those made by his comrades.

This is the code by which the communists of the shop V. Smelyanskiy, A. Litvinenko, V. Monakhov, Yu. Tikhonov, K. Tkachev, candidate for membership in the CPSU A. Temirvayev, and Komsomol member S. Dyusembayev live. These people are not indifferent to shortcomings.

This is in one of our shops. If you take the plant as a whole, then it turns out that the true "worker backbone" is our strength, our pride. The overwhelming majority of workers work conscientiously and strive to do their bit for the common good for the maximum output. On the plant honor board, you see the faces of Heroes of Socialist Labor, member of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, gear-cutter N. Shakhov, deputy of the republic Supreme Soviet, turner I. Bulynina, fitter D. Kashina. Here are the portraits of the order bearers, member of the Kazhakhstan Communist Party Central Committee cutters R. Sklyarovaya, turner A. Yegorov and others.

The plant as a whole is successfully completing the annual production program. Competition for a worthy meeting of the 60th anniversary of USSR revealed the names of the best. These are turners A. Dosymov, Ye. Kozhakhnov, brigade foremen A. Saitov, M. Ospanbayev and many others.

I mentally return to our Ivan Panteleyvich Yegorov because I know him better and closer. I can't help but think that the high personal qualities which are inherent to him are even more completely developed in those who deserve plant, even republic glory. It is precisely about these people that comrade D. A. Kunayev spoke at the joint triumphant meeting of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and republic Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR: the sum of our of our efforts, labors and victories is a new man, an ardent Soviet patriot."

Today, looking at tomorrow from the heights of what has been achieved, we relate more strongly and intolerantly to the shortcomings that obstruct more rapid mobility on the selected path. The November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum set before the Soviet people important tasks in the development of the economic potential of the country, further improvement in life of the Soviet people. The motion of all of our fronts of the five-year plan must be accelerated. One of the basic reserves for growth is the decisive improvement in discipline and the order in production.

Taking a critical view, each individual in every labor collective will see many channels and areas in which working time is wasted.

For example, how are things in our shop?

In November 1982, all of our work was actually paralyzed by the lack of forming sand. The supply service did not work. No sand -- meant no rods, and no smelting of metal. Such a linkage was formed. Barely succeeding to fill this "hole" with an all-hands job, another hole developed elsewhere: we did not have enough manganese. We gathered crumbs in other places and "cleaned all the corners". And even the professional skill of Ivan Panteleyevich did not prevent defective goods.

There is another fact. It was recently discussed at the party meeting by the veteran of the party, the most experienced pattern maker A. Litvinenko. This year the shop did not receive even half of the volume needed for preparing the models. What we were given, even the most undemanding owner would not have allowed in the shop. This is not a fence, but an item which requires high precision. The head of the shop V. Petrov calmed Litvinenko: "Try, Andrey Semenovich, to make something good from this wood. Otherwise, we'll go up in smoke." It is good if there is such a foreman with golden hands, a man who is responsive and all-understanding.

How long will this continue?

In the shop I perform the duties of the propagandist. At the political meetings I often speak about the need of each to conserve work time. But, you agree, it is difficult to teach people who see whole work shifts go for nothing because of something unpunished -- generally slipshod work. They need to be educated, because yesterday one did not ram the form, made the rod loose, another today did not maintain the necessary smelting mode or "chilled" the metal. As a result the part was stopped at the barrier of the department of technical control.

A liberal attitude to bad workmen has become infectious. As a propagandist I know that only in our shop, often all corners are smoothed out in analyzing the reasons for defects, personal responsibility is transformed into collective. Everyone is equally guilty. No one is deprived of extra wages. This "collectivism" does not work to educate assiduousness and discipline. The assiduous and disciplined people remained behind, while the slovenly do not think of changing their attitude to work.

Examples? There are as many as you want.

Workers have complained many times that in crane transport of rods of the most important parts, they fall from the hook and are broken. The reasons were found. It turned out that the frame builders prepared the loops, but they did not correspond in their configuration and quality to the production requirements. The foreman D. Sabitov of course gave instructions, but it should be assumed that they were not very mandatory. Soon the breaks were repeated. It seemed as if the defect existed by itself. No one would take personal responsibility for it, neither the foreman, nor the brigade foreman, nor the leader of the supply service. And the ordinary worker?

Here is an example. The burden worker T. Kusayynov was obliged to provide in time the initial materials for the smelters. There was nothing simpler: weigh, load, supply to the furnace. But should there be an error in the calculation of the components -- the smelting batch is ruined. If the materials are not supplied on time, the furnace is idled. In the meantime, one frequently had to search for Kusayynov. It is embarrassing to say that he was often found sleeping somewhere in a cozy place. Recently Kusayynov had to cut aluminum for the charge which the melter V. Sil'chenko was making. He did not do it. Sil'chenko produced a defective item.

Why is a prudent attitude towards work time and what we produce with our own hands violated?

Our intolerance for idlers, loafers, drunkards and slackers must be embodied in real, concrete actions. Our laws guarantee people work and choice of occupation. But no rights can exist without obligations. The material welfare of every Soviet family is achieved in one way, by work. It is impossible to forget about this when encountering facts of negligence, slackness and disregard for duty. It is impossible to convert humanism into tolerance for violations of discipline in production, including so-called small ones. Lateness, absence, and carelessness in fulfilling assignments disorganizes production. The guilty must be punished according to the labor law codes. The measures of public influence must be made stricter.

All the Soviet people adopted with complete understanding and approval the conclusion drawn in the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Communist Party, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the November Plenum: "We should more decisively wage the battle against any violations of party, state and labor discipline." Poor work, inactivity and irresponsibility, it was noted at the Plenum, must have the most important and irreversible effect on the material reward and on the service position, and the moral authority of the workers.

I would like to make separate mention of the mass meetings which the leaders of the enterprises attend so lightly.

The propagandist tells the audience about the need to be prudent even in the smallest work. He recently marched with a group of specialists and production organizers during the work time on the area where a holiday demonstration was to take place in a few days. The propagandist was then told that this was extremely necessary in order to "pinpoint the line of motion". The club audience is not naive and is not convinced by such an explanation, just as it is not convinced by any justification of the need for mass meetings, the so-called "five minute meetings" at the height of the work day.

A young fellow in overalls in our shop spoke with a girl and "jokingly" threw her on a cart which she rolled and stopped near the "boy-friend," breaking pieces of shaped brick from the refractory lining of the reserve furnace. The girl threw the brick from the cart and new ones landed. The first row of the furnace was ruined, the spiral even fell out, and they continued to "play." They were rebuked. On his face there was an expression of feigned guilt through which one could see an unconcealed: "So what!"

The separation of "mine" from "ours" is the result. Mine is mine and ours belongs to no one. The latter isn't valued. We pay a high price for the lessons we do not teach to the upcoming generation, most likely for the wrong lessons. We the grown-ups are not always prudent, economical or thrifty. After all, it is possible to take what belongs to "no one". Someone without shame tries to bite from the "common pie".

Our shop has started to master the production of nut crackers. This is not a very complicated kitchen tool. The first time there was nothing to send to the warehouse, everything was pilfered by those passing through the shop. We began to hide them under lock and key and they broke the locks.

And this too is interesting. In such cases we shamefully babble: someone "took" them. Instead we should say forcefully and directly: they were "stolen". An item, a particle of our work time was stolen. We should accordingly hold these "authors" speaking in the language of the lawyers, responsible for criminal deeds.

Let us discuss yet another channel for loss of work time. The days on which wages are paid can hardly be completely crossed out as working days. Many workers stand for hours at the cashier's office. It is known that the leading enterprises have set up schedules for paying wages; in some places it is placed in envelopes beforehand and a person only has to sign the register. Why don't we adopt this experience?

The Eighth Plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee has advanced tasks of enormous state importance before the working collectives of the republic. The most important factors for improving acceleration of production and its efficiency are conservation, efficient use of material and labor resources. No one today must be left out of the daily struggle for high organization and labor discipline. The attitude towards loafers, idlers and slackers must be intolerant.

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REGIONAL

NEW TECHNOLOGY IN UKRAINIAN AGRICULTURE EXAMINED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 27 Nov 82 p 3

/Unsigned article: "Higher Educational Institutions Assist the Agricultural-Industrial System"/

/Text/ The scientific associates of the republic's VUZes are actively involved in efforts to fulfill the Food Program. This problem was examined at the session of the Presidium Commission of the UkSSR Council of Ministers devoted to questions of scientific and technical progress. It was noted that research directed at intensification and technical re-equipping of agriculture and related branches of the economy, constituting the agricultural-industrial system, was going on at 109 Ukrainian VUZes.

G. G. Yefimenko, UkSSR minister of Higher and Intermediate Specialized Education, named a number of efforts accomplished by VUZ scholars and successfully introduced into the economy. These include work on special ways of processing beets to increase sugar content, completion by the Khar'kov Economic Institute of the proposal by the Donetsk State University for photo-laser irradiation of cucumber and tomato seeds prior to sowing, and the combination method of grain drying and the method of increasing the yield of seedless grapes, which were first applied and worked out by scientists in Krym Oblast. Many valuable projects were accomplished in the Odessa Technological Institute of Refrigeration Industry; the Dnepropetrovsk chemical-technical, Zaporozhe machine building, and Kherson pedagogical institutes; and the Kiev State University imeni T. B. Shevchenko.

At the same time the commission noted that successful results of certain important efforts by republic VUZes in the interests of the agricultural-industrial system are being introduced slowly into the appropriate sectors of the economy. Research on improving the techniques of harvesting, preservation, transport and processing agricultural products is insufficient. Development is lagging on new technological processes for manufacturing containers and packaging materials, and for utilizing food byproducts. A number of claims were made upon the economists.

The commission adopted a resolution to introduce proposals of the UkSSR Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions, UkSSR GOSPLAN, and appropriate ministries, for consideration by the republic government. These proposals promote expanded research and accelerated introduction of research efforts made by VUZ scholars, in accordance with the decisions of the November, 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The commission also considered measures aimed at broadly applying modern methods of evaluating the quality of agricultural products, food-stuffs, mineral fertilizers, machinery, and farm tools, and discussed the work of the Northeastern Scientific Center of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences on accelerating scientific and technical progress in the region's economy.

Officials of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the UkSSR Council of Ministers, UkSSR GOSPLAN, and republic ministries and departments participated in the work of the session.

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REGIONAL

POET ADVOCATES UNIFORMITY OF SOVIET TURKIC ORTHOGRAPHIES

Tashkent SHARQ YULDUZI in Uzbek No 10, 1982 pp 202-204

[Article by Uyghun, "Some Considerations regarding Contemporary Uzbek Orthography" See USSR Report: Political and Sociological Affairs, 82676/1355, 19 January 82 for author's refutation of Radio Liberty's "misuse" of this article.]

[Text] The transition of numerous peoples in the Soviet Union, and in particular of the Turkic peoples and the Uzbek people, to a new alphabet created on the basis of the Russian script was without doubt a progressive event in the history of language. It has been of exceedingly great political, social, and cultural importance, and it plays a major positive role in the overall relations among our peoples as they grow closer and more firmly united with one another. The new alphabet has served well, and will in the future continue to serve, in the development, growth, and enrichment of our language.

In the course of the transition to the new orthography very great positive things were achieved. However, at the same time, certain deficiencies were permitted which still persist. This situation is clearly observed in the selection of letters for certain sounds peculiar to the languages of the Turkic peoples and to the Uzbek language in particular.

Concerning these deficiencies several scholars, including Professor G P Serdyuchenko, Professor A K Borovkov, Fakhri Kamol and others, have expressed and put forward in their articles good and correct ideas and considerations regarding the observance of uniformity in selecting letters for sounds peculiar to the language of the Turkic peoples, but unfortunately their wishes and considerations have still not been put into practice.

All letters expressing sounds in the Uzbek language have been taken from the Russian script. In cases where there were no letters in the Russian script to express sounds peculiar to the languages of the Turkic peoples, including the Uzbek language, it was found suitable to alter Russian letters and adopt them in a slightly different form.

All kinds of variations appeared in this process, and each people selected special letters for itself, with the result that uniformity in the language of Turkic peoples was destroyed.

Because there was no letter in the Russian script to express the "q" sound, as in the word "qon" (blood), found in the Uzbek language, a "tail" was added under the letter "k" in the Russian script; this was quite appropriate.

Following this principle, to express the Uzbek sound "h", which does not exist in Russian script, a "tail" was added to the Russian letter "x" (kh); this was also very appropriate.

It would have been possible, proceeding with this principle, to derive a "jum" (ch) by adding a "tail" to the letter "ж" (zh) from the Russian script, and to form a special letter as well for the "jum" [dch] sound found in the Turkic languages, including the Uzbek language, a sound which is very frequently used in our language; unfortunately, however, this was not the case.

In the present Uzbek alphabet the letter "ж" ("j" "zh") expresses two sounds and performs two functions. This situation, without doubt, gives rise to great difficulty in learning the language. In particular, children now entering school and learning to write are having difficulties, being unable to distinguish the two sounds, expressed by one letter, from one another. The reason is that the letter "ж" ("zh") cannot express the "jum" [dch] sound in the word "jon" ("soul"). Representatives of other peoples who wish to learn the Uzbek language also encounter difficulty on this problem and are unable to correctly pronounce Uzbek words. For this reason, when Russians write, in order to correctly pronounce the "jum" sound they add the letter "d" in front of the letter "zh" and write "дж" ("dzh").

In fact, it is very easy to be freed from this inconvenience, this difficulty; if only a "tail" is affixed to the letter "ж", a special letter would appear to express the "jum" sound in the word "jon."

The Tatars and the Turkmens have taken precisely this course, opting to add a "tail" to the letter "ж" in order to express the "jum" sound in the word "jon", and it is entirely fitting that this form and this letter should be adopted for the Uzbek alphabet as well.

To express the "ing" sound peculiar to the Uzbek language, "нг" ("ng") was adopted, combining two letters. This is likewise incorrect, since the letters "нг" ("ng") cannot properly express the sound, and some readers read these letters separately, saying "menin-g" and "senin-g" ("my" and "your"). In this situation one may read the word "mangu" ("eternal") as "man-gu." There is, further, inconvenience and loss in the "нг" ("ng") letter, from the point of view of economy, since two letters are used in printing instead of one, and twice as much material is expended for one letter.

The fact is that if it were resolved to add a "tail" to the letter "н" ("n"), following the above-stated principle, this problem would resolve itself. The Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tatars have justifiably done precisely that, and this is correct. The same must be adopted for the Uzbek language.

It is known that in writing, every letter expresses a specific sound. In the Russian script and in other languages as well the letter "о" expresses the long "o" sound of words like "Ol'ga," "kolkhoz." In Uzbek, however, other unnatural functions have been loaded on this letter. This letter must express

the sound of "alif", in the words "ona" ("mother") and "olim" ("scholar"). This situation again gives rise to many difficulties in writing and reading. Readers and school children are forced to read this letter two ways, one way when reading Uzbek and another way when reading Russian. If, when reading Russian or the other languages which switched to Russian script, one reads the letter "o" with its "legitimate" pronunciation, he is forced in Uzbek to read it with an artificial, unnatural, corrupted pronunciation. The person who reads the letter "o", which expresses a specific, definite sound in all languages, will read the Uzbek word "olim" ("scholar") as "olim" ("death"), "ol" ("take") as "ol" ("die"), and "ot" ("name" or "horse") as "ot" ("fire"). It is thus wrong to use the letter "o" to express the "alif" sound in words like "ota" ("father") and "hol" ("condition"); it complicates writing and gives rise to difficulties in writing.

It is therefore necessary to leave the letter "kho" in its own natural function in Uzbek, as it is in other languages, and to use another letter for the sound ("ā"). This problem just be given careful consideration, but probably it would be appropriate to form a letter "ā" by placing a "madda" or "˘" sign above the letter "a" (there is such a "˘" sign in our script, placed above the letter "y"); otherwise, some other form or letter may be found. Indeed, it would not be at all bad if the "madda" principle were utilized in selecting the letter.

The uniformization of the alphabets of the Turkic peoples who switched to the Russian script is also one of the most important problems.

Previously, when these peoples had alphabets based on the Arabic script, one kind of letter was adopted for sounds peculiar to the languages of the Turkic peoples. For this reason there existed a uniformity among the writing systems of the Turkic peoples. These peoples were able to read each others' writing without difficulty or awkwardness. Turkmens could read Azeri books, Uzbeks could read Kazakh books, and Tatars could read Kirghiz books, all without trouble.

After the transition to the new script based on the Russian script, this trend should have been further developed. However, errors permitted during the transition to the new alphabets and the breaking of the uniformity in the Turkic peoples' languages interrupted this trend and slowed down this natural process, because in the transition to the new alphabets, each people adopted different form and letters for the sounds peculiar to the Turkic languages: for example, while the Tatars added a tail to the letter "ж" and made a "ж", ("jum"), the Tajiks added a tail to the letter "ч" ("ch"), whereas in the Uzbek language there was no special letter to express the "jum" sound at all. In Uzbek, the function of the sound "jum" in the word "jon" ("soul") was placed upon the letter "ж" ("zh"), in an additive fashion.

In order to remove such inconveniences it is first necessary to correct the errors which were permitted. This problem must be solved at some scholarly center, on an all-Union scale; great specialized scholars and linguists must contribute, a congress organized, and the languages made uniform.

Several years ago the "assault" against Arabic and Persian words in the Uzbek language reached a peak, and the theory reigned which held that it was necessary to throw out Arabic and Persian words from the language in order to preserve the purity of our tongue. This was a completely erroneous, unscientific theory. The inventors of this theory were participants in the counterrevolutionary organization known as "Chaghatay Conversation," which advanced the ideas of Pan-Turkism. In order to mount the fight against the Soviet-international and Russian words which were rightfully and naturally entering our language through the requirements of a new age and a new life, they masked themselves in the slogan of the "struggle against Arabic and Persian words;" their real purpose, however, was to fight against the Soviet-international words which were entering our language legitimately.

Because this theory was alien and harmful, a hindrance preventing the development and progress of our language, it was thrown out by life itself.

There is not and will never be any pure language in the world. Languages constantly grow, progress, develop and become enriched. This is a legitimate situation. The enrichment of a language occurs through various paths.

A language may grow due to the creation of new words and new expressions from within itself. For example, "qazilma" ("excavation") from the root of "qazish" ("digging"), "topilma" ("discovery") from "topish" ("finding"), "yonilghi" ("flammable," "gasoline") from "yonish" ("burning"), "yoqilghi" ("fuel") from "yoqish" ("setting fire"), "tirkama" ("trailer") from "tirkash" ("fastening," "coupling"), and so forth.

Language is also enriched by finding new words and new expressions for the new meanings, names, and events which emerge in life. For example, "izchil" ("consistent"), "izchillik" ("consistency"), "khalqaro" ("international"), "tejamkorlik" ("economy"), "cholquvar" ("developer," "one who reclaims desert lands"), and the like.

Language also becomes enriched by adopting words not found in the language itself from other languages. This is natural, and examples of it are abundant.

In the period following the great October Revolution a great many new words and expressions were added to the Uzbek language, and this was a quite natural phenomenon; for example, "elektr" ("electricity"), "tramvay" ("streetcar"), "telefon" ("telephone"), "mashina" ("automobile"), "tekhnika" ("equipment"), "poyezd" ("train"), "vodoprovod" ("water-pipe"), "kino" ("cinema"), "teatr" ("theater"), and so forth.

In the same way, a great many Arabic and Persian words entered our language in their own time. All of these words, which were assimilated and absorbed into our language, are considered part of the wealth of the language together with Uzbek words. To remove them from the language or to attempt to find contrived "Uzbeki" words in their place would be ill-advised. Such words, created by force, are contrived and artificial and are doomed to "die out". There were such attempts in our history. For example: there were in some circles "linguists" who, under the guise of fighting against "alien" words,

sought to change the word "elektr" ("electricity") to "sim chiroq" ("wire-light"), "parovoz" ("locomotive") to "otash arava" ("fire-car"), and "velosiped" ("bicycle") to "shayton arava" ("devil-car"). Real life, however, did not accept their artificial, lifeless words, but discarded them.

Language does indeed have its own laws of growth. Language "digests" and takes as its own words which are born from within it or are adopted from other languages. An old Uzbek man reportedly asked someone. "What is 'orischa' (Russian) for 'traktor'?" Yes, the word "traktor" has entered and been absorbed into our language, and it has become "our own" word; the old man's question was thus well-put.

The more extensive a language's lexical wealth, the better. The more synonyms and words of shared meaning, the better. There is no "over-abundance" of good, necessary words which have not lost their meaning. To fully and accurately and clearly and distinctly reveal, depict, and express the varied, rich, infinitely refined meanings as well as the beautiful peaks, of thoughts and feelings, a great many words are needed. It is not necessary to "weed" or "thin out" the "garden of words," for such action would result in the impoverishment of the living language.

For example, there are words in our language which impart the same basic meaning but are quite varied in form, such as "rang" and "tus" ("color"), or "yuz," "aft," "bashara," and "bet" ("face," "surface"), or "Kerak," "lozim," "darkor" ("necessary"). While these words all communicate one meaning, it would be wrong to assert the necessity of "economizing" by keeping one of them and removing the rest from use. All of these words must remain in our language; they add richness to the wealth of our language. These words are necessary for enhancing style, for avoiding the repetition of words in writing, for giving special qualities to the language of characters and figures in literature and drama, and, especially in poetry, for cadence and rhythm.

With the passage of time some unnecessary words which lose their own essential meaning and are no longer used will pass out of the living language spontaneously and "die a natural death;" this is a natural phenomenon. For example, instead of these terms for measurements--"chaqirim," "qadoq," "misqol," and "gaz"--the words "kilometr," "kilogramm," "gram," and "metr" are used in our language at present. Neither, however, should the above words be stricken from the lexical treasury; they must have their place in dictionaries, since such words will remain necessary for fine literature and especially for literary and scientific works written in the past.

After the great October Revolution a great many new words came into the Uzbek language, among them words such as "revolutsiya" ("revolution"), "propaganda," "agitatsiya" ("agitation"), "redaktor" ("editor"), "avtor" ("author"). This was likewise natural, and enriched the language's lexical stock. At the same time, one must use words such as "inqilob" ("revolution"), "tashviqot" ("agitation"), "targhibot" ("propaganda"), "muhammad" ("editor"), and "muallif" ("author"), which are similar in meaning to the above-listed words and which entered the Uzbek language after the great October, were frequently used in our living language, and became absorbed into our language. These words never interfere with one another, but often complement one another, and they increase the richness of the language.

Those in the past who struggled against Arabic and Persian words were unable to achieve any results, for their movement reminds one of the endeavor of Don Quixote who fought with "windmills." After all, to throw out the Arabic and Persian words from the Uzbek language would amount to throwing out nearly half the words in the language! How in the world would you remove from the language words which entered the Uzbek language, were absorbed and became assimilated, words such as "maktab" ("school"), "kitob" ("book"), "daftar" ("notebook"), "adabiyot" ("literature"), "fan" ("science"), "shoir" ("poet"), "she'r" ("poem"), "hayot" ("life"), or "khona" ("house")? We must absolutely not allow such errors now.

Indeed, we must take extremely good care of the richness of the language. We must direct our work and activity in the field of language not to the impoverishment of our linguistic wealth, but quite the contrary, to its further enrichment.

In the future, as well, new words will continue to arise and be created in our language, and words not found in our language will continue to enter the Uzbek language from other languages, especially from Russian and from other people's languages through Russian. One should not interfere with this natural and legitimate growth and development of language.

(Editor's note: In the article by our venerable poet Uyghun serious ideas are put forward regarding the improvement of Uzbek orthography. In this connection the editorial board invites specialists in this field to contribute to the discussion.)

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REGIONAL

STATUTE TO REGULATE PRIVATE PLOTS ADVOCATED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 17 September 1982 carries on page 5 an 800-word group of letters in response to an article by Musrat Rahmatov titled "A Piece of Ground" in the 13 August 1982 issue of the newspaper. The first letter is from Dr of Economics Hikmat Sobirov, who cites figures on the scale and scope of private plot farming in the USSR to demonstrate that the private plot is "a socialist enterprise and organization," whose profits and produce form a basic portion of the family budget. Sobirov advocates drawing up a statute that would regulate the maximum and minimum size of such plots, their utilization, sale of excess produce, the organization of state and farm assistance, and the amount of labor to be spent on them. A draft of this statute should be published for discussion in the press. Moreover, a special administrative department and commissions of village soviets should be formed to deal with private farming. Finally, Sobirov points out that the Moscow journal SEL-SKAYA NOV' issues an appendix every two months on private plot farming and urges that OZBEKISTON QISHLOQ KHOJALIGI do the same. The other letters in this feature deal with local complaints about restrictions on private plots.

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PARTY STRUCTURE IN ALMA-ATA OBLAST DETAILED

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZKHSTANA in Russian No 10, October 1982, carries on pages 68-83 an article by V. Mashkunov, secretary of the Alma-Ata Obkom, which describes various facets of the obkom's party structure. For example, Mashkunov notes that more than 30 percent of raykom and gorkom secretaries are under 30 years of age and 42 percent are between the ages of 40 and 50. Among deputies to the local Soviets of Peoples Deputies, more than 30 percent are under age 30; 22.2 percent are members of the republic Komsomol. Currently, all raykom and gorkom secretaries in the oblast have a higher education. More than 65 percent are specialists in industry and agriculture. More than 70 percent held management positions in industry, agriculture and construction before undertaking full-time party work. Mashkunov also notes that the number of women occupying these positions has been growing steadily, but he provides no statistical data.

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